"Before proceeding to work [JKM: planting manioc] the women sit down round the heap of the manioc stems, chanting first to the stems and afterwards to Nungüi herself, calling upon her to be present and to help them in the work:

'Don't touch the stems with hasd hands,
slowly, with caution may you touch them.
Although we have cut them with the iron of the whites,
may they not take it amiss,
only to cut the pieces have we used the knife.
May it do no harm: may you grow well,
may you bear abundant fruit', etc.

Then follows the chant to Nungüi herself. Besides the heap of manioc stems and the shingi, there is a third sacred object. This is a small round stone red or brown in colour, which has clearly been found somewhere in the ground. The Jibaro women, however, pretend to have got it in some mysterious way. Nungüi herself has given it to a woman [128] in a dream, when she was intoxicated with the narcotic natéma, in order that she should have luck in agriculture. This wonderful stone is called nandára and is regarded as the special symbol of Nungüi containing her soul and at the same time the soul of the manioc plant (tsanimba wakáni). The stone is therefore supposed to have the power of summoning Nungüi to help in the work, and consequently of making

the manioc grow well. The nantára is covered with an upturned gourd, and the women sit around it while chanting the song to Nungüi:

'Being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
we are going to sow.
Nungüi, come thou and help us,
come and help us!'
Art not thou, art not thou our mother,
are not we thy children?
Whom should we call upon?
We only behold wood and hills.
Thou art the only one who can help us,
us that are going to plant the fruit'.

"After the work [JKM: planting manioc] is finished, the old woman fixes the chonta pole (shingi) well into the ground at the end of the field where it is then left. The idea is that just as the shingi is firmly planted in the ground, so also the manioc which the women have planted will grow steadily and without disturbance. It still remains, however, for the women to chant to the shingi itself. Sitting round the pole they sing the following chant by which, at the same time, Nungüi and her husband Shakaëma are 'awakened' in order that they may take notice of the planting just finished and promote the growth of the crop.

This chant in the Jibaro language runs as follows:

Shingi wairu tu tahei,
'Lifting up the earth with the shingi we have
done the work (of planting),
tu aweiru shindyantamryá,
Thus we have digged in the earth to awaken thee.
tu tahei, ty tahei.
Thus we have done, thus we have done.
Nungüi noachi assana
Being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
hui tu tahei, tu tahei

thus here we have done.
Mamankutú untsuaheitá,
May thou multiply our crop of manioc,
shindyantamryá, shindyantamryá.
wake up, wake up!
Aishirú kutú, tsukahei vaityá,[130]
Dear husband (1), myself I am hungry,
aishirú kutú, tsukamá huahuá.
my husband, hungry is also my child.
Shindyantamryá,
Wake up, wake up,
wari kureitkurá.
quickly appear!""

"1. i.e., Shakaëma, the husband of Nungüi, whom the women invoke as their own husband."

1: Karsten--131-132 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241, 539 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros also try to promote the growth of the plantain by incantations, directed to Shakaëma, the husband of Nungüi. This, however, does not take place at planting, but some months later when the plantain has already grown large. Both the women and the men sing, sitting inside the plantation. The incantation has reference not only to the plantain, 'the son of the tumba', but also to the manioc, now half-grown; hence, besides Shakaëma, Nungüi is also mentioned in it.

The incantation, which is sung to the same melody as the last one, runs as follows:

Tumbá uchiru apuhkahei,
'The son of the tumba I have planted,
pingéra ahásahei.
nicely I have put the sprout in the earth.
Shakaëma aismanguchi, aishmangú,
Shakaëma, man in the earth,
aramú ityursan tsapaicheindyá, [132]
why don't you promote my plantation?
tsapaicheindya, tsapaicheindya.
Why don't you make it grow, why don't you make it flourish?
Tumbāru, waiari, waiari,

My plantation of tumba (1), promptly make it grow,
winchúra, waiari, waiari;
my plantain, promptly, promptly make it develop!
pand'machiru, pand'machiru
My little plantain field,
ityursán tsapaicheindya.
why don't you make it flourish?
Nungüi noachina, noana,
To Nungüi, also, the woman, we sing:
wambagrura (1), waiari, waiari,
Our manioc sowing, quickly, quickly make it grow!
Shakaëma, aishmanguna, apusa,
To Shakaëma, the husband, as well, who planted the plantain.
pingera, tsapaitsi, tsapaitsi,
make it nicely grow, make it flourish!

"1. The Jibaros here poetically speak of the tumba, the mythical ancestor of the plantain, as if they cultivated also that plant."

winchura (2), waiari, waiari.
My plantain field, quickly make it grow!
Araki, ityursan tsapaicheindya,
My sowing, why don't you promote it,
(i) tyursangi tsapaicheindya.
why don't you promote it?
Ivyarkamrusmá, ityursanginú
Having nicely cleared the ground,
tsapaicheindya, tsapaicheindya.
why don't you make it flourish?'"

"2. wambagrúra and winchúra: poetical expressions for the manioc and plantain fields, instead of mamáru (mamanchíru) and pand'máru (pandmachíru)."

"When the whole work of sowing and planting is finished, the women perform certain ceremonies in the house, consisting of dancing and chanting, in order to make the new fields grow well and secure a good crop. During five successive nights, from sunset to dawn, they perform a ring dance called Ihiámbrama in the house of the principal woman (i. e., the woman who will make the feast), wearing festival dresses and rattles round the cincture, and singing incantations to Nungüi and her husband Shakaëma. These incantations are much the same as those sung before when sowing the plantation, and they are also sung later, at the great fertility feast itself, the Noa tsangu.

The following is an example of these incantations.

Kashi ningi
'At night united we sing,
Nungüi noa assana,
being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
Nungüi noachina:
to Nungüi, the woman, we sing:
mama untsuaheita,
Multiply the manioc,
inchi untsuaheita,
multiply the camote,

nussi untsuaheita,
multiply the earth-nuts,
kingi untsuaheita,
multiply the potatoes,
sangu untsuaheita,[134]
multiply the sangu,
ashi, ashi untsuaheita.
everything multiply!
Nungüi noa assan kutú,
Being daughters of Nungüi, the woman,
we imya untsumarahei.
we thus have called upon her.
Nungüi noachina, noana,
To Nungüi, the woman,
arutama nunganuma,
the Old One who lives in the earth,
Nungüi noana tu tihei:
to Nungüi, the woman, thus we have sung:
yurúmgachi úntsuaheita,

Promptly multiply thou our crops,
mamankutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of manioc,
inchikutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of camote,
nussikutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of earth-nuts,
sangu, sangu úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of sangu,
ashi úntsuaheita.
everything multiply!
Shakaëma aishmanguchi,
Shakaëma, the husband, as well,
amisha húi úntsuaheita.
may thou fructify the crops!
Amisha ni, kambungisa,
Thee also, who hast felled the trees,
ivyarsamunmá,
who hast cleared the ground,

imya untsumárahei:
thus we have called upon:
Mamankutú úntsuaheita,
Multiply our crop of manioc,
inchikutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of camote, [135]
nussikutú úntsuaheita,
multiply our crop of earth-nuts,
ashi, ashi úntsuaheita.
everything, everything multiply'!"

1: Karsten--136 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
539 (1928-29)

"....In order to exorcise this danger [JKM: fear of rats damaging the manioc, plantain, and camote fields] and protect the crops the Jibaro women perform the following ceremony. They take the shell of a manioc fruit, which has been eaten by the rats, and put some ashes into it. Upon this shell they put the shell of a plantain, gnawed by rats, together with some ashes. Lastly, upon these shells they put a third shell of a camote, gnawed by the same rodents, the shell being likewise strewn with ashes. All three shells are Then placed in a piece of an old, broken clay pot (called hakáchi). The women now form a ring round the broken clay pot containing the three fruit shells and begin to dance, singing a sort of chant or incantation to expel the rats.

This incantation runs as follows:

Katipichi, pand'machiru,
'Little rat, my crop of plantain,
Katipichi, inchichiru
little rat, my crop of camote,
takarseipya, takarseipya.
don't touch it, don't touch it!
Mamanchiru takarseipya,
My little manioc crop, don't touch it,
takarseipya, takarseipya.

don't touch it, don't touch it!
Winya mamaru,
My manioc field,
winya pand'maru
my plantain field,
winya inchiru,
my camote field,
takarseipya, takarseipya.
don't touch it, don't touch it!
Yapamikipya,
Don't eat my crop at night,
Yapamikipya.
don't eat it at night!""

"The songs sung [JKM: at the tobacco wedding feast] are much the same as those sung at sowing, (and above I have given some instances of them (1)). All fruits cultivated by the Jibaro women are mentioned in these incantations, but especially the most important of them, the manioc. In their songs the women among other things pass through the whole 'history' of this crop, when the trees are felled in the forest for the making of plantations, when the sticks are put in the earth, when they begin to strike root, when the root swells and the little plant begins to grow, when the women remove the noxious weeds and tend it until at last it is a big shrub and the manioc root 'big like the sikimuro' and ready to be harvested by the women. Above all the Earth-mother herself and her 'husband' Shakaëma are appealed to, the former in order that he may help at the rough work in felling the large trees and removing the trunks, and the latter that she may help the women to tend the plant and make it grow well and bear abundant fruit.

The following are further instances of these songs:

'Shakaëma, man in the earth,
come and help us in our work!
May you cut down the trees,

"1. Supra, p.128 sqq."

send away the soul from the stems,
remove the trunks from the fields!
Nungüi, mother, help us in our work!
Make my sowing flourish,
remove the weeds from my field,
make the leaves of the plant strong,
make the root big like the sikimuro! (2)
Fertilize my field,
multiply my crop of manioc,
multiply my crop of camote,
mulitply my crop of earth-nuts!" etc."

"2. Sikimuro is a big root, somewhat resembling the manioc, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is used at one of the most important ceremonies of the great victory feast (See infra, p. 351)."

"Incantations of this kind are directed to the Earth-mother as before, some of them having reference to agriculture whereas others are sung on behalf of the chickens and the hunting dogs. The following songs may be mentioned as instances: [201]

Nungui noa wachi,
'To Nungüi, the woman,
arúta núnganuma,
the Old One who lives in the earth,
Nungui noachina
to Nungüi, the woman, (we pray):
Mamankutú yamárma,
our manioc plantation is still young,
inchikutú yamárma,
our camote field is young,
nussikutú yamárma,
our sowing of earth-nuts is young,
nu pingera tsapaitsi,
make it nicely grow,
yurúmga untsuaheita,
quickly multiply the crops', etc.

The incantation to the Earth-mother is followed by another which has reference to the chickens (atáshi kantámsama):

Tangúmata atáshi,
'Make the chickens tame!
Nimya, nimya atáshi,
Multiply, multiply the chickens!
Ukúnchmandá atáshi,
Make their spurs large!
Niheimanda atáshi,
Fill their crops'! [202]

A similar incantation is sung on behalf of the hunting dogs, (yawá kantámsama) and to the same melody. The incantation runs as follows:

Tóata yawána,
sátama atchminéa,
Soachuruchimya,
Huambiktechimya,
Amushrunachimya,
Chuinchiruchimya.
Sátama rúna,

Yeita másanatimi,
káshiki piútnungmateiti,
káyúka itérmangeiti,
pákki itérmangeiti.

In translation:

'Rear the dog which still is young,
the son of Soachi,
the son of Huambikte,
the son of Amushru,
the son of Chuinchi!
May he become familiar with his master,
who cautiously goes to the forest in the early morning
to hunt the guatusa, to hunt the wild hog!'

Another incantation addressed to the Earth-mother on behalf of the dog runs, in free translation, as follows:

'You, my dear little dog, which roams about in the forest and climbs the hills seeking the game! May Nungüi, who herself has bred the dogs [203] make you skilled to trace the hog and take care of you and guard you so that you may not smell the urine

of the tiger and get crooked legs!'(1)

Such incantations are sung for a couple of hours with short intervals."

"1. This belief is due to the idea entertained by the Jibaros, that the jaguar is an evil spirit, the reincarnation of the soul of a sorcerer."

"The dialogue at the Enéma [JKM: dialogue between two warriors] is rather stereotyped, the words being always about the same and being repeated several times. The following is the Enéma conversation among the tribes of the Upano, Morona, and Pastaza:

Enemártahei, 'Let us speak loudly!'
Chichama hustai, 'Let us speak words!'
Wárita kunai, 'What are we going to say?'
Waru irúrtai, 'Let us quickly assemble!'
Tumáshi akerkatai, 'Let us avenge the blood-guilt!'
Kashini kanártai, 'To-morrow we will sleep far away.'
Waru nikápsatai, 'Let us quickly take our enemy!'
Waru, chíchamahúomo, 'Quickly, before he is told about it!'
Unta nu, 'So says the Old One (the chief):'
Waru wakítketai, uchitai, 'Let us go, to return quickly, youths!'
Húomokki, húomokki, 'Quickly, quickly!' [284]
Manyáhei, 'We have been fighting!'
Mahei, 'We have killed!'
Tumáshi ayambruamákahei, 'We have revenged the blood!'
Muka tsupiktai, 'Let us cut off the head (of the enemy)!'

Hukitai, 'Let us carry it with us!'

Enemártinyu (enemártahei) means 'to speak in a loud voice,' which is consistent with the fact that the Indians do not speak in an ordinary voice but shout while carrying out the Enéma conversation. Each phrase is strongly contracted in the pronunciation, so as to consist only of two to four syllables, which naturally makes the conversation entirely unintelligible to one who does not know the words. In return, the phrase thus contracted is repeated twice, corresponding to the movements of the body. Thus, for instance, the beginning of the conversation:

Chichama hustai,
Warita kunai,
Waru irurtai, etc.

assumes the form:

Chamurstai, chamursti,
Waritkunai, waritkuni,
Warurtai, warurti,

and so on."

1: Karsten--285-286 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
539 (1928-29)

"The Anéndrata [JKM: war song] runs as follows:
Yachuta, yachuta, 'My brother, my brother,'
Méseta himersatai, 'Let us make war together!'
Winya úchiruna chichahei, 'To my son also I have said:'
Uchita, uchita, 'My son, my son,' [286]
Kákarum hasti, kákarum hasti, 'Make you strong, make you brave!'
Winyaka mastinyu, 'Me they won't kill!'
Wika misérchatinyu, 'I will not die!'
Shuara makatahei, 'Myself I will kill my enemy!'
Kànárahei, kànárahei, 'I have dreamed and my dreams have been good.'
Arútama weinikama, 'I have seen "the Old Ones!"'(1)
Shuara achiktahei, 'I will capture my enemy!'
Yamai achikahei, 'I have him already!'
Manyasa puhustahei, 'Presently I will be engaged in fighting!'
Watski, shuarasha winiti, winiti, 'All right, may my enemy come, may he come!'

"1. The Old Ones (arátama), the spirits of the ancestors, who appear to the warrior in the narcotic sleep and tell him that he will be able to kill his enemies."

Winyasha mandoáti, 'And may he take my life if he can!'
Winya mandoáma assa, 'If he kills me,'
Uchi weinikati, 'my sons will certainly see (that it will be avenged).'
Chikichika mati, 'May he kill some one else!'"

1: Karsten--321-323 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
539 (1928-29)

"The dance [JKM: Wuimchi, a ring dance] is accompanied by conjurations. The first conjuration especially refers to the game, the dancers enumerating all those quadrupeds and birds which are most hunted by the Jibaros. First of all, different kinds of monkeys are mentioned, which are much appreciated by the Indians on account of their flesh, their fur, and their teeth. The [322] tsantsa thus, by virtue of its supernatural power will, among other things, promote the hunting luck of the victor. From the last incantations it moreover appears that it will also exert a favourable influence upon the home industry of the Indians--weaving, basket raddling, etc.

The Wuimchi is begun with shrill whistles. Thereafter the dancers proceed to enunciate the respective names, moving round the pillar, each word being followed by a sonorous 'hej!'

The conjuration runs as follows:

Hej, hej, hej!
Yákuma a, hej! 'there is the howling monkey' (Yakuma, Myletes).
Kapándinyu a, hej! 'there is the red one'; (the howling monkey is red).
Chuo a, hej! 'there is the brown monkey' (chuo).
Washi a, hej! 'tjere is the black monkey' (washi).
Sepuro a, hej!' there is the long-haired monkey' (sepuro).
Tsiri a hej! 'there is the capuchin monkey' (tsiri).

Tsema a, hej! 'there is the gray monkey' (tséma).
Pakki a, hej! 'there is the wild hog' (pakki).
Kávashu a, hej! 'there is the green parrot' (kávashu).
Púsurshu a, hej! 'there is the long-tailed one' (the macaw).
Máshu a, hej! 'there is the paugi' (mashu).
Kuchi a, hej! 'there is the domestic swine' (kuchi).
Kúturama a, hej! 'there is swine's lard'.
Ayandasta a, hej! 'there is the women's clothing'.
Ikichi, a, hej! 'there is the girdle to confine the clothing with.'
Changina a, hej! 'there is the raddled basket,' etc.

This conjuration is continued for about one hour, the dancers meantime moving alternately to right and to left. Every time they stop to move in the opposite direction they give loud whistles and shouts of 'chi, chi, chi, chi,' as if to keep up with these shouts the continuity of the conjuration.

Another conjuration is devoted to women and the fecundity of the women. The fruitfulness of the women, consequently, will be one more of the beneficial effects of the tsantsa.

This conjuration is as follows:
Hej! hej! hej!

Noa, hej!
Noa, hej!
Kanutpia, hej! [323]
Kanutpia, hej!
Nihantsi suruchu kanutpia, hej!
Kanutpani hitia, hej!
Numbitinya, hej!
Nihĩrseisaka, kahetpia, hej!
Noa, hej!
Noa hej!
Kahetpia, hej!
Nikasneiti, hej!
Eitgamue, hej!
Pingerati, hej!
Maketi, hej!

The word noa means 'woman'. Kanutpia, kahetpia, numbintinya, nihĩrseisaka, are different expressions for the sexual act. Nihántsi surúchu='may the tsantsa grant it;' nikasneiti='may it be true'; eitgamue='so you will do;' pingerati='may it be nice;' maketi='it is enough'."

1: Karsten--324 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
539 (1928-29)

"Another conjuration of the same kind is the following chant:

Yawá nu ikyáma, Umaná míchakia,
Yawá nu ikyáma, Wúimina michaki,
Yawártaki takarseipya, Umaná chiangá,
Wúimina chianga, Umaná chiasua
Huimya, huimya, Umaná chianga,
Wúimina chianga, Núruna chásamana,
Wúimina chianga, Táhita chiangana, etc.

In this chant it is particularly 'the tiger in the forest' (yawánu ikyáma) that is the object of the conjuration (yawártaki tákarseipya='tiger, don't touch us!' wúimina, míchakia--'go away, get cold!'), in order that he may not come and kill the Indians. Evidently it is believed that the tiger (jaguar) is another shape which the soul of the killed enemy may assume when trying to take revenge upon the victor."

1; Karsten--349-350 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
539 (1928-29)

"Among the refrains sung at the washing of the tsantsa I have noted down the following as being the most important:

Chimbuyirumbá --yamáyumbá,
'Take up the seat! --set down the seat!'
Shimbágasmé, 'May it not move' (may it be steady!')
Styugáhosé, 'Put the tobacco cautiously on the floor!'
Wakéketá, 'Unfold the leaves!'
Umbunatá, 'Blow tobacco smoke!'
Uráratá, 'Open the bundle'!
Chichutamá, 'Throw saliva upon it!'
Shimbanákachá, 'May it not get damaged'!
Yamámishá, 'Recently enveloped are the tobacco leaves'.
Mishákatei, 'Recently made is the head of the enemy which we are going to wash'!
Yamanhiri, 'Recently we have passed the threads through its mouth.'[350]
Mishahosé, 'Take up the tsantsa'!
Mishatákuná, 'Hold it up for the dance'!
oa-á--aó."

"This song runs as follows:

Ohahaheitimi, 'Let us sing and dance!'

Hímyata máma,
sinseri oháhaheita,
sinseri nátsamáma.
Hímyata máma,
sinseri oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó. [355]
Tsingúmimáma,
oháhaheita,
untuhára,
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

Untuhára,
ivyéramáma,
wakimsihára,
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

Shirimbi nóastaimi,
narángoa,
oháhaheita,
nayápiumau
oháhaheita,
oa-á--aó.

In translation:
'Let us sing and dance!
May all of you come!
Arranged in a file may you come and dance! Arranged in a file may you come without feeling shame!

Well dressed,
having adjusted your tarachi,
having arranged your ornaments,
may you sing and dance!
Grasping one another by the hands
may you dance!
Like the swallow which, (sitting on a bough) is moving his body to and fro (as if he were dancing),
Like the hawk, which is making his circles in the air, may you sing and dance!'"

"The medicine-man sends the conjuring words through his closed hand, holding it over that particular part of the patient's body which is the seat of the evil. The following conjuration is typical:

We, we, we, wa, wa,
'I, I myself (conjure you demons),
ámaru, tunchiru,
the amarun (water boa), possessing the arrow,
tsungiru, tsungiru,
and the tsungi, the tsungi,
aeintsuka, [415]
you that were once men,
tsinserére natimieru,
and whose 'arrows' I have seen when intoxicated by natéma,
tukki tsinságrinyu,
you that are full of arrows;
yawara tsinsagri
the tiger, sending the arrow,
husa, husa, husaru,
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!

apu, apupa,
The dolphin, the dolphin,
tsinsagri, tsinsagri
sending arrows, sending arrows,
Kaspa tsinsagri
the ray, sending arrows,
husa, husa, husaru
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!
tsangu, tsangu, tsangudu,
Tobacco, tobacco
muku, muku, mukuna.
I am blowing, I am blowing!
avanketná, avanketná.
I will take out the arrow (fixed into your body
like a hook),
ayámsatná, ayámsatná
in order that you may get relief!
and so forth."

"The cock-of-the-rock (sumga), one of the most beautiful birds of the forests of Western Amazonas, the Jibaro woman addresses in the following way:

Sumga noa assana,
sumga noachina,
tu nakúrahei:
Sumga aishmangshiru,
kapáka paháwue,
wisha hahúchi,
sumga noa assa,
tu nakúrahei.

In translation:

'Being the wife of the cock-of-the-rock,
being the little wife of the sumga,
I jokingly sing to you thus:
Cock-of-the-rock, my little husband, [498]
wearing your many-coloured dress of feathers,
graceful in your movements!
I know I am useless myself,
but still I rejoice,

for I am the wife of the sumga--
So I jokingly sing!"

To the pheasant (kuyu) the woman sings:

Apu, apu, kuyu,
indeshipi kuyu,
mite, mite hamei,
winya kuyu uchirka,
chapursa nambikahei.
Wisha kuyu tukúsmahei,
uhuchiruk hapik amue,
indeshipi kuyu--
tu nakúrahei.

In translation:

'Great pheasant, great pheasant,
pheasant with the long hair and the big tail,
my little son, whom I have intoxicated with the beer!
I have made myself like the pheasant,
putting on me your long tail
and dressing myself in your brilliant feathers--
So I jokingly sing.'"

1: Karsten--513-516 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"In ancient times the Jibaros knew none of the plants and fruit which they cultivate to-day, nor did they possess the art of hunting the animals and birds of the wood with lances and blowguns. [514]

In those days there lived a Jibaro woman whose name was Ungucha. She only had a field of tumba (1), but no other kind of plantation.

And Ungucha said to the tumba: 'Why should I plant and tend thee, useless tree, which dost not give me any fruit? Where can I get manioc, plantain, and other fruits to eat?'

One day Ungucha found some manioc shells on the river bank. She went down along the bank looking for the manioc and at last came to an open place where there were a number of large áha (plantations). Here Ungucha met the Jibaro woman Nungüi and

"1. Tumba is a wild forest plant with large leaves which much resemble the leaves of the plantain, but it gives no edible fruit. The Jibaros say that the plantain is descended from the tumba and therefore call it 'the son of the tumba' (tumba uchiru)."

said to her: 'Give me manioc and plantain to eat.' Nungüi answered: 'That I cannot give you, but instead of food take this little girl who is my daughter.' Ungucha took the girl, went off, and made a shelter in which she placed the girl. Then she said to the girl: 'Repeat these words: wari múitsa a, What clay vessel (for manioc-beer) is there?' The girl repeated: wari múitsa a, and at once there appeared a large clay pot of the kind the Jibaros use for manioc-beer. Ungucha again said to the girl: wari nihamánchi a, 'What manioc-beer is there?' The girl repeated: wari nihamánchi a, and instantly the clay pot was filled with manioc substance for making beer. Ungucha again said: 'Repeat these words: wari michaka a, What mashed earth-nuts are there?' The girl repeated: wari michaka a, and instantly there was a clay pot filled with mashed earth-nuts.

Ungucha now took the daughter of Nungüi and went out in the forest outside the hut and said to the girl: 'Repeat these words: wari áha a, 'What fields are there?' The girl repeated: wari áha a, and at once there appeared before them large flourishing plantations of plantain, manioc, sweet potatoes, maize, sanahoria, beans, earth-nuts, etc., in short, all the different kinds of fruit and roots which the Jibaros cultivate to-day.

Ungucha again said to the girl: Repeat these words: wari kúndinyaka a, 'What game there is?' The girl repeated: wari kúndinyaka a, and at the same moment there was before them a great quantity of flesh of the different animals and birds that the Jibaros

nowadays hunt, flesh of the wild hog, of the paca, of the agouti, of all sorts of monkey, of the tucan, of the paugi, of the wild turkey, of the parrot, etc. And Ungucha began to name all these animals and birds which thus came to her, and [515] whenever she wanted a special kind of animal or bird she asked the girl to mention the name of that animal or bird.

She said, for instance:

Wari pakki a, 'Where is the peccary pig?'
Wari kayúka a, 'Where is the agouti' (a rodent)?
Wari yákuma a, 'Where is the red howling monkey?'
Wari washi a, 'Where is the black monkey?'
Wari kávashu a, 'Where is the green parrot?'
Wari máshu a, 'Where is the paugi?'
Wari kúyu a, 'Where is the wild turkey?'
and so on.

The flesh of all these animals and birds, however, always came to Ungucha in a ready prepared and dried state and the heads of them never came to her. And Ungucha said to the girl: 'Why do not you give me the heads, I want the heads also!' But the girl could not give her the heads. Ungucha got angry, took some ashes from the hearth, rubbed the eyes of the girl with them and said to the girl: 'Give me a head, I want a

head!' In the same moment the girl was veiled in dense smoke and disappeared into the interior of the earth. There the daughter of Nungüi has remained with her mother ever since. But since that time the Jibaros have known all those fruits and plants which they cultivate to-day, although they obtain them only with arduous work. Since the time of Nungüi they have also known those animals and birds of the forest which they still hunt.

According to another version the end of the myth, which tells us how the daughter of Nungüi disappeared, runs as follows:

Unguch had a son who sat in the house at the fire-place. This youth was bad, and he got angry because the daughter of Nungüi had come to the house. He said to the girl: 'Repeat this: wari iguánchi a, What demons are there? Let us see whether you can summon them also.' The daughter of Nungüi repeated: wari iguánchi a, and instantly the demons appeared who are now tormenting mankind. Ungucha's son again said to the girl: 'Repeat this: wari kaunchi a, What rotten things are there? I want to see whether you can summon such things also.' The girl repeated: wari kaunchi a, and instantly a disagreeable rotten smell was in the house.

Now the son of Ungucha said: 'We have in this house a bad girl who summons all sorts of evil things. Why should we keep her here? Let us turn her out from the house.' And he took ashes from the fire-[516]place and threw them upon the girl. The daughter of Nungüi began to weep and said: 'Why should I stay here? I will go back to my mother

under the earth.' And the girl went out to the plantation outside the house and here she suddenly disappeared under the earth in smoke.

Now the Jibaros would again have suffered from famine after the daughter of Nungüi had left them. But the fields were already made, the manioc sticks had been planted, and the seeds had been sown. The fruits thus grew by themselves in due time.

Note. In this myth we find a theme which frequently appears in primitive cultural myths, namely, divine goodness and the ingratitude of man. The Jibaro women still have a very vivid consciousness of their indebtedness to the great Earth-mother, the invisible donor of all good things. They speak of Nungüi as a divine being still really existing, and we already know the devout worship which is paid to her on certain occasions, especially in sowing the fields and at the 'feast of the women.'"

1: Karsten--516-518 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"I give this myth in the Jibaro language, with interlineal translation.

Yǒuntsu unta hī atsúmasa whuétta shuāra eini tsukáppi
In primitive times, fire not existing, ancient Jibaros under the arms
tsuira hásma nu yúoma. Tákkea hī ríntinyu. Ni Tákkea noa
(the food) made tender, ate it. Takkea alone fire possessed. Takkea's wife
áhana wui, wakítka himbui weinikama. Tura,
going to the plantation and returning a humming-bird saw. Thereupon
hukīma, tánguchi nahána, hīna anáru huhúrtitsa.
she took him (home), tame to make him, at the fire placed him to dry him.
Huhúrma sīri hīna huáku ákasa
Having got dry, he shook his wings, took of the fire, having caught it
uhúki. Tura numa áka ikyúkma. Noa
with his tail. Thereupon in a tree, which caught fire, he left it. A woman,
áha wini tu weinika hukima. Hi ikyámsata,
returning from the plantation, seeing it thus, took it with her. 'Light the fire',
timya, yamai hī wéinikahei. Yurúma awita painikatârum
she said, 'now fire I have found. Place the pots (on the fire) to cook the food,
pīngera yúotinyu.
so that we may eat nicely.'[517]

Another Jibaro Indian related the same myth to me with more detail in the following way:

In ancient times the Jibaros did not know the use of fire. In those times, in preparing the food, they were in the habit of warming the flesh and making it tender by keeping it under the arms, and the manioc they made 'ripe' by keeping it under the chin. Eggs were boiled by burying them in the sand and exposing them to the sun.

The only one who possessed fire was a Jibaro by the name Takkea. He had learned to make fire by rubbing two pieces of wood against each other. But he was an enemy of the other Jibaros and did not like to give it to them, nor teach them how to make it. Many Jibaros (who in those times had the shape of animals and birds) came flying and tried to steal fire from the house of Takkea, but they were not able to do it. Takkea kept the door of his house a little open, and when the birds came he killed them, squeezing them to death between the door and the post, and ate them.

Lastly the humming-bird, himbui, said to the rest: 'All right, I will steal fire from Takkea's house. The humming-bird wet his wings and placed himself in the middle of the way, pretending to be unable to fly and trembling as if he felt cold. The wife of Takkea, returning from the fields, saw the humming-bird, and took him to her house with the intention of drying him and taming him. After a while the humming-bird, having got half dry, shook his wings and tried to raise himself for flight, but he could not.

Takkea's wife again took him and placed him beside the fire. Soon the humming-bird was perfectly dry and prepared himself to steal some fire. Since he could not carry away a whole fire-brand he took the fire with his tail, allowing the feathers to catch fire and flew away from the house. He flew up into a high tree with very dry bark, which the Jibaros call mukúna. The bark caught fire and the humming-bird carried away a little of this bark, taking it to a house. 'Here you have fire', he shouted to the rest, 'light your fire from it at once, all of you may take of it, now you will be able to cook your food nicely. You need no longer make your food ripe by keeping it under the arms.'

When Takkea saw that the humming-bird had fled with fire he got very angry and began to reproach his people. 'Why have you allowed that bird to enter the house and steal fire. From now on everybody will have fire and that is your fault.'

From that time onwards the Jibaros have possessed fire. They have [518] also learnt how to make fire afresh by rubbing two wooden pieces of the 'cotton tree' (urúchi numi) against each other.

Note. As I have pointed out before, this cotton tree is not identical with the cotton tree that the Jibaros cultivate at present. The urúchi numi which according to the myth was formerly used for producing fire was another tree, nowadays only known by name. Formerly the Jibaros also used the wood of another tree, called ipyáknumi, for the purpose."

1: Karsten--518-519 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 539 (1928-29)

"Salt was, in ancient times, a man named Whui. Whui went out seeking a place where he could settle down and live, singing: tui puhústai, tui puhústai, 'Where shall I settle, where shall I settle?' Lastly he came to the region where the river Curi-Curi unites its waters with those of the river Mangosiza. This was a place where Whui wanted to stay and he sang: Mangosizai, Curi-Curi, pangia, pangia puhústai, i.e., 'At Mangosiza, at Curi-Curi, there I will stay, (flying like a butterfly) with fluttering wings.' Ever since that time Whui has lived at Mangosiza, where there is still the salt spring. By Whui having urinated, a little of the salt has also been spread to certain other parts outside the Mangosiza. The salt is the urine of Whui.(1)

According to another myth the Jibaros discovered salt in the following way.

Very long ago, at a time when the Jibaros had already existed some time upon the earth, a Jibaro named Whui married a girl and lived with her in a house. Whui had much affection for his wife and brought her every day game and other gifts. One day

"1. The butterfly (wambishku) according to the idea of the Jibaros is a 'soul' (wakáni), and it is associated with the salt springs because butterflies have a great liking for salt water and are seen constantly flying over the spring. When boiling salt the Jibaros are in the habit of singing incantations to the butterflies."

he came from the forest with a small clay pot (yukúnda) full of salt, which he gave his wife. He brought her salt in this way several days, and he likewise began to present salt to his other relatives, but they did not know from where he brought it and how he prepared it. The only thing they knew was that he always took his way into the forest and returned late in the afternoon with the salt. [519]

A Jibaro woman who was curious to know from where he obtained the salt said to herself: 'I will go after him secretly to find out from where he takes the salt.' One day when Whui went to the forest she followed him without his knowing it. She saw him arrive at a shelter where he began to urinate into a clay pot which was placed at the fire, his wife standing close by looking at it and laughing. The woman wished to surprise him and suddenly rushed forth with an exclamation. 'Why do you go secretly in this way', she said to Whui, 'and do not let us others know how you prepare the salt?' Whui was ashamed because he had allowed himself to be surprised, and because a woman had seen him urinating. Ayu, ayu, máketi, máketi, he said 'it is all right, it is all right.' But he thought to himself: 'I will make an end of all my tribesmen, who will now get to know how I obtain the salt'. Thereupon Whui made a big feast and invited all his tribesmen from the whole neighbourhood to it. When all were assembled Whui closed the doors of the house so that no one was able to escape. Then, suddenly, the earth opened and all those who were in the house, the guests, Whui himself and his wife and

children, his swine, hens, and dogs, sank down into it. There all those people have lived ever since.

But those who, during early times, came there to seek salt and dug in the earth could hear, from the interior of it, the voices of those people that Whui had caused to fall into it, the voices of men and women conversing and laughing, of dogs barking, and of cocks crowing. Later, however, this subterranean dwelling-place was destroyed by people who sought salt, and to-day one no longer hears such voices from the interior of the earth. But the salt which the Jibaros still obtain from the salt spring and prepare by boiling the salt water is the urine of Whui, who buried himself there with the other Jibaros."

"The sun, etsa, and the moon, nántu, were in ancient times people (Jibaros) and lived here on the earth in the same house, and had the same wife. The latter was a bird, the goat-sucker (Caprimulgus), called Aōho by the Jibaros. Sometimes the sun was with Aōho, sometimes the moon was with her. When the sun embraced Aōho he was very warm, and the woman liked it. On the other hand, when the moon embraced Aōho [520] he was very cold and Aōho did not like it. 'You are very cold', she said to the moon, 'I do not like you.' The sun made fun of the moon and said to him: 'Why are you so cold? I am very warm and therefore the woman likes me.' The moon got angry at this and went up to the sky (nayéimbi), climbing along a liana. At the same time he blew upon the sun so that he became eclipsed for a moment and was not visible. The woman, who believed that she had been left alone, said: 'Why should I remain here alone? I will also go up to the sky.' The woman consequently started to climb after the moon along the same liana. She carried with her a basket full of clay (núi), of the kind the Jibaro women use when they make their clay vessels. Aōho was already near the sky when the moon noticed that she followed him. 'Why do you follow me?' he said to the woman. 'I do not like to have you any longer'. The moon struck the liana so that it broke and the woman fell to the ground with the basket of clay which she carried. The clay was scattered, and wherever some of it fell, clay is still found.

Aōho thus remained on the earth and was changed into the bird bearing that name.

Her doleful voice is still heard at every new moon when she calls to her husband who abandoned her.

Later on the sun also went up to the sky climbing along another liana, but even there, the moon is obliged to flee continuously from the sun, running over the mountains and forests. They can never march together and never can they be reconciled. Hence the sun is only visible in the day, and the moon only appears at night.

If the sun and the moon, instead of quarrelling for possession of the woman, had been able to agree as to having her in common, then among the Jibaros also two men would now be able to have one woman in common. But since the sun and the moon were jealous of each other and engaged in controversy about the woman, the Jibaros are still jealous of one another and fight for possession of the women.

But the clay, of which the women make the clay vessels for the feasts has its origin in the woman Aōho, having emanated from her soul, and wherever this clay is now found it has been scattered by the woman Aōho, who was afterwards changed into the bird of that name.'

"In ancient times the moon lived on the earth, having the goatsucker Aōho, for his wife. But the moon and Aōho did not live well together and were always quarrelling. One day the moon said to Aōho: 'Prepare for me some pumpkin so that I can eat it when I return from work in the afternoon.' The moon went off and Aōho cooked the pumpkin, but having done so she ate the pieces herself and left the smallest and poorest for her husband. When the moon returned in the evening, Aōho brought him the pumpkin in a pininga. The moon, noting the meanness of his wife, said to her: 'Why do you bring me these useless pieces of pumpkin? Who has eaten the best pieces? You have certainly done it.' Aōho answered: 'I have not done it, look at my mouth, if I had eaten the pumpkin my lips would still be wet.' The moon said: 'Since you take care of me so badly, I go away up to the sky and leave you alone here.' And the moon began to climb up to the sky along a big liana. When Aōho saw that the moon had left her she decided to follow him, climbing along the same liana and carrying with her a basket with pumpkin to prepare it for her husband. When Aōho was already near the sky, the moon gave the liana a blow so that it broke and Aōho fell to the earth. When she fell, all the pumpkins which she had in the basket were spread on the ground and wherever a pumpkin fell it began to grow. Ever since that time the Jibaros have known and cultivated the pumpkin.

But Aōho still lives on the earth in the shape of a bird which has the same name, and

she still wails on account of the loss of her husband. At every new moon she calls to him, singing with a mournful voice: aíshiru, aíshiru, úruka winya hapáma, 'My husband, my husband, why have you abandoned me?'

Note. The goatsucker (Caprimulgus) is a bird which particularly attracts the attention of a traveller in the forests of Western Amazonas because of its peculiar, mournful song which is especially heard at night when the new moon appears. This song could be expected to strike the imagination of primitive peoples."

l; Karsten--522 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 539 (1928-29)

"The goatsucker (sacha anga) in ancient times lived on the earth as a woman and had the moon, which in those days lived also on the earth and was a man, for her lover. The moon came on a visit to Anga every night and slept with her, but she did not know who he was, and the moon did not reveal it to her. In order to recognize him, Anga one night blackened the cheeks of the moon with huituc (Genipa americana). The moon tried to wash the black spots from his cheeks, but when he could not do it he was ashamed and left the earth and the woman for ever, climbing up to the sky along a long and broad liana. Even to-day the black spots are still visible on the moon's face, as everybody can see. But Anga, who was left alone, grieved bitterly at the loss of her lover. She still lives on the earth in the shape of a bird, the goatsucker, and at every new moon her wailing notes are heard, the same notes in which the Indian women lament over their dead husbands: Nyuca curilla, nyuca cusalla, imamant' hichúscani, imata tucúshcani, i.e. 'my little husband, my dear one, why have you abandoned me, what will become of me?'"

"The sun (etsa) in ancient times was a Jibaro Indian and a great hunter. He was the first who used the five kinds of arrow which the Jibaros still use for their blowguns, shooting with those made of the five different kinds of palm--ináyu, tindúki, kungúki, koágshi, and mamatsinsáka --of the wood of which they must be made to be strong and good.

The sun sent the fox (kuhánchama) to try the new arrows and said to him 'Go and shoot with the arrows at the black monkeys which eat so much fruit in the trees.' The fox went off and started to shoot at the monkeys with the different kinds of arrow. First he shot with an arrow made of the ináyu palm but missed, and the arrow flew far away to another part of the country. On the spot where it fell there grew later on an ináyu palm. But since the arrow went so far, the ináyu palm (Maximiliana regia) does not now grow in the land of the Jibaros; they are obliged to buy it from other Indians. The fox thereupon shot [523]with an arrow made of the tindúki palm, but missed again, the arrow flying over the monkeys. On the place where the arrow fell there grew a tindúki palm. Then the fox shot with a kungúki arrow, but again missed, and where the arrow fell there grew a kungúki palm. The fox then shot with an arrow made of the koágshi palm, but missed as before and on the spot where the arrow fell there grew a koágshi palm. Lastly the fox shot with a mamatsinsáka arrow, but even then he missed. The arrow flew high over the monkeys and fell to the ground so far from the land inhabited

by the Jibaros that they do not even know where it was, and at that place there grew later a mamatsinsáka palm; but this palm the Jibaros only know by name.

When the fox returned the sun asked him: 'Now, have you brought down any of the black monkeys which eat so much fruit?' 'No', answered the fox, lying to the sun, 'I have not seen any monkeys at all, they have not come to eat the fruit.' The sun, seeing that the fox told him lies, grasped him by the neck and poured some tobacco water into his mouth. The fox began to vomit and threw up a quantity of seeds which the monkeys had shaken down from the trees. The sun said to the fox: 'Because you have told me lies you will hereafter go starving like a woman who is alone in the kitchen (ekínturu). (1) If you had shot the monkeys with your arrows, even the women would have been able to bring down the animals of the wood with blowguns and poisoned arrows.'

If the fox, instead of missing the monkeys with the five arrows, had shot one monkey with each of them, the Jibaros would now be able, when they go out hunting, to bring down one animal with every arrow they shoot, and thus they would only lose a small number of arrows during their life time. But since the fox missed, the Jibaro men too are now bound to miss very frequently and lose many arrows, whereas they are able to shoot animals with only a few of them."

"1. That is, a woman who has no husband that brings her game and therefore is obliged to go hungry."

"According to one myth current among the Jibaros the stars originated in the following way.

In ancient times the sky (nayéimbi) was solid like the earth, with many stones. Here there lived a Jibaro woman named Atsúta. She was the first who possessed beans (mika) the different kinds of silique which [524] the Jibaros now know, the númbuima mika, the tingúkama mika, the purusangápa mika, and the surítika mika. Atsúka sowed these different kinds of bean in the sky. Later on all these beans were lighted. In this way, the woman Atsúka created the stars, which were originally the beans sowed by Atsúta.

According to another myth the stars were originally people (eintsu) like the sun and the moon. They originated in the following way.

A Jibaro woman married a jaguar and lived with him in a house. One day the jaguar said to the woman: 'Eat out the lice which I have in my head.' The woman began to look for the lice and took one louse from the head of her husband and put it in her mouth; but afterwards she spat it out in disgust. The jaguar, noting this, said to the woman: 'How is it that you dislike your husband in that way and do not like to eat out the lice from his head?' Having said this, the jaguar bit his wife to death and tore her body into pieces to eat it. The woman had been pregnant with two eggs, and when the jaguar did this, the eggs fell out. The mother of the jaguar was present and when she saw the eggs she picked them up, took a clay pot, and placed some cotton and the eggs in it. She kept

and tended the eggs, and after some time two small Jibaro boys were hatched from them, and the boys were stars. The stars grew larger and larger and the mother of the jaguar went on tending them, getting another and bigger clay pot for them. When the jaguar went out hunting in the forest, the mother took them out of the clay pot on the floor and gave them food. And when the jaguar returned from the forest she again put them into the pot, keeping the latter on the roof of the house. As the stars grew up they took care of themselves, being anxious that the jaguar should not see them, since they knew that he would kill them. They became youths, and still they stayed in the house of the jaguar. Always when the jaguar went to the forest they got down, had their meals, and talked with their grandmother, but when the jaguar returned home they went up to the roof, hiding themselves there in a recess.

One day when the jaguar had gone out hunting as usual the stars said to the mother of the jaguar: 'Tell the jaguar, when he returns from the forest, to cut for you two good chonta lances. It might happen that the jaguar demon (iguánchi yawá) comes from the forest while he is away and kills you.' The stars said this because they intended to kill the jaguar to avenge the death of their mother. When the jaguar returned home his mother did as the stars had asked her. The jaguar cut two lances of chonta and at once went out hunting again. Then the stars [525] got down and killed the mother of the jaguar with the lances. They cut her body in pieces, put the flesh into a pot, and boiled it well so that the jaguar might eat it on his return. Thereupon they fixed a pole in the

plantation near the house and blew upon it so as to make it speak to the jaguar with his mother's voice when he returned and asked for her. The jaguar soon came home from the forest and shouted: nukúa hau, nukúa hau, 'Where are you, mother? Come at once for I am in a hurry and must presently go back to the forest; I have caught neither hogs nor anything else; I am hungry and returned home only to eat and will go out hunting again at once.' Then the pole answered from the plantation with the voice of the jaguar's mother: 'You can eat in the house I am here in the plantation collecting some manioc. There is meat for you in the house, you need only eat it.' The jaguar entered the house and ate the meat, the very flesh of his mother who had been cooked in the pot, and again went out into the forest. When he returned, however, he did not come alone but brought with him all the other kinds of jaguar and tiger cats which live in the forest. There was the soacha, the great black jaguar, the shia-shia, the ordinary spotted jaguar, the hapayawára, or leopard, the yambínga, yantána, yawára, and other kinds of felidae. All these were assembled in the house, and the stars decided to kill them all at once when they went away again. Now the house of the tigers was situated close to a precipice over which there was only one way, a bridge made by the tigers consisting of tree trunks. It was not possible to enter the house from any other side. As soon as the tigers went off the two stars placed themselves at both sides of the precipice over which the bridge led, each armed with his lance. In the middle of the bridge on its

underside they made a cutting, so that the bridge would easily break under a great weight. In the evening all the tigers returned from the forest. At the head came the black jaguar, soácha, and at the end the yambínga, the two most powerful of all tigers, guarding the rest. The tigers stepped on to the bridge: when they were in the middle of it, one of the stars threw his lance at the soácha who came first and precipitated him into the abyss; the other star did the same to the yambínga who came last. At the same time the bridge broke and the rest of the tigers also fell into the precipice and perished. The only one who was able to save himself was the leopard, hapayawára; being extremely agile he managed, taking an enormous jump, to reach the edge of the precipice and disappeared into the forest.

The other star looked for a place where he could join his brother [526] and both went into the house. There they sat down to meditate on the situation. 'It is not possible for us to live in peace in this country', they said, 'for the leopard has escaped, and one day he will take revenge for the death of the rest and kill us; it is better that we seek another country where we can live safely.' The stars went and collected a number of arrows of the cane growing on the bank of the river called wachi. They brought these pieces of cane into the house and the one said to the other: 'with the aid of these we will ascend to the sky'. One of the stars was bigger than the other and was named Yanguái;(1) the other and smaller star was named Ya. Ya first threw an arrow at the

"1. The star Venus."

sky; the arrow however did not reach it but fell down on to the earth. Then Yanguái, who was bigger, threw an arrow which reached the sky and stuck in it. Thereupon he threw another arrow into the hole at the lower end of the first one, so that it was fixed there; into the second they shot a third, into third a fourth, and so on, until a long line had been formed which reached from the sky down to the earth. 'Now we have a line', said the stars, 'but it is very weak, it will probably break if we try to climb up to the sky along it.' Then the stars touched the arrows with their fingers at those points where they fitted into one another, blowing and spitting upon them, and in this way a strong, compact band was formed of the different arrows. The stars climbed up to the sky along this band and remained there. This band is still by called [sic] by the Jibaros étsa néika, i.e. 'the liana of the sun'.(2)

From these two stars, Yanguái and Ya, the rest of the numerous stars which now exist in the heavens originated. In ancient times the stars, which were like people, frequently descended from the heavens to the earth along the band étsa néika, and similarly people from here sometimes ascended to the sky, by the same means. It is owing to this that we still know the story related above; if there had not been this

"2. The scientific name of this liana, which resembles a rope-ladder, is Caulotretus."

communication between the heavens and the earth we should not know how the stars originated. Later on, however, the moon destroyed the band étsa néika, which in consequence no longer exists and it is therefore not possible in our days to ascend to the sky from the earth.

Note. This myth is of interest, among other things, as showing to what extent the mind of the Jibaros is penetrated by the idea of retaliation, and the treacherous way in which they go to work to annihilate their enemies."

"The first victory feast of the Jibaros.

[KS: For the Jivaro text of this myth with interlineal translation see the original work, pp. 527-530. The English translation is given on the following sheets.]

In ancient times, it is related, there was another kind of people than nowadays. In those times all animals and birds were like men (shuāra) the jaguar, (shia-shia), was like a Jibaro, the sloth (uyúshi) was like a Jibaro, all monkeys, the black monkey (washi), the red howling monkey (yakúma), the brown monkey (chuo), the capuchin monkey (tsiri) were like Jibaros; all birds were men; the paugi (mashu), the trumpeter bird (chiva), the mago (chui), the umbrella-bird (ungúmi), the bird yukúru, the bird wikeáko, the bird chukáchi, the bird shíki were like Jibaros; all fish were people; the wambi, the kánga, the sheat-fish napi, were like Jibaros; the crab (uríki) was like a Jibaro, the snail (tsúntsu) was like a Jibaro. In a lake the great serpent (pangi) also lay outstretched. The serpent made an end of (killed) many people. Therefore the whole people was assembled, all being angry. The wikeáko said to the yukúru: 'What shall we do? Why shall the whole people be made an end of, why shall so many women be made widows? May we assemble quickly, may we kill the serpent, may we kill him.' The chukáchi spoke: Yukúru, are not you really a brave man? Make a breach in the lake shore (an outlet for its waters), dig it, dig it! As soon as the water of the lake has flowed away we will kill the serpent, we will certainly kill him.' 'All right', said the yukúru, 'but at this moment we shall not be able to dig through the shore of the lake, but another day we will make the water flow out [531]from it. Then we will kill the serpent when he leaves.' Thereafter (another day) they all assembled and made a breach in the lake shore. 'Now we have dug through the shore' (they said), 'now the water will flow off; after, when the

serpent tries to go out, kill him, kill him, do not let him escape!'

In the lake there were also a number of fish and the crab (uríki). Since the water of the lake had been made to flow out the fish and the crab were also obliged to leave. Then the bird shiki speared the crab (uríki), and the umbrella-bird (ungúmi) killed the fish kánga and 'skinned' his head. The bird mashu shouted to the bird wikeáko: 'Spear the wámbi also, spear him, do not let him escape!' 'The other one (the wikeáko) was not able to spear him because he slipped. The bird chui really speared the wámbi, but the wámbi escaped, having drawn out the lance. Much blood flowed; hence the fish wámbi has still a red tail and red fins.

Then the serpent also left the lake, being very angry. 'Now he comes, now he comes', all shouted. 'Chiva, spear him you, spear him you!' But the chiva fell from fear. Then all fell upon him (the serpent) and killed him. The yukúru shouted to the mashu: 'Why do you stay there afraid? Be a man and cut off his head!' The mashu seized a machete and cut off the head of the serpent. Then all shouted: 'Take off his scalp, skin his head, skin it! Now we will assemble, all of us, we will make a feast, the widows may make nice manioc-beer, much, much, much! Now we may dance, now we may rejoice, for we have killed the serpent!'

Thereupon all the widows assembled in the house. Then a woman said to the yukúru: 'You marry me, you marry me; are not you the man who killed the serpent who made

an end of my husband's life?' 'Cha, the yukúru said, 'I do not think I have killed him alone; all of us killed him in company. I do not think it is my duty to marry you. May the mashu decide, he is the host, let him decide!'

The wikeáko sang:

'I also have killed,
I also have killed,
Now, now, now, I rejoice,
I rejoice, I rejoice!'

All were feasting, all were dancing, the women the children, all danced.

All the widows, intoxicated by the beer, sang:

'We have killed the serpent, [532]
we have killed the serpent,
him who made an end of so many people eating them,
now we rejoice, now we rejoice!'

All the beer was consumed because so many people had assembled.

'Now we have consumed all the beer', (they said), 'now we may leave after we have feasted and danced. May we go home and sleep.'

All went off.

Thereupon the language of all these people was altered. The language of the umbrella-bird (ungúmi) was this: hum, hum, hum. The language (cry) of the paugi (mashu) was

this: histi, histi, histi. The language of the black monkey (washi) became this: óa-oa, oa-á-aó. These languages were not understood. The washi went away with one language, the mashu went away with another language, the ungúmi went away with a third language. Thereafter many of them were provided with wings, and many of them became fishes. The washi, the yakúma, the tsiri were made like people. So they are all now.

Everything was ended.

Note. This myth gives us a vivid picture of a battle between Jibaro Indians and also throws light over certain details of the great victory-feast. As we find, it is customary among the Jibaros that a warrior marries the widow of the man whose death he has avenged, and the woman then plays the most important part at the great feast in which the victory is celebrated. --As to the language which the animals assumed after the great feast, it is of interest to note that the men at the feast still shout histi, histi, histi as did formerly the bird paugi (mashu), whereas the women, when dancing, incessantly repeat the refrain: óa-á-aó, oa-á-aó, as formerly the black monkey sang."

"The Jibaros were about to make a great feast and had sent two youths to the forest to hunt. The youths travelled three days into the forest and camped there in the shade of a big tree. On the following day they started hunting; they shot a number of peccary pigs, monkeys, and birds. They brought the animals and birds to the camp, where they dried the flesh at the fire, and then placed it on a frame made of boughs to keep it there. On the following day they again went out hunting. When they returned to the shelter in the afternoon they found [533]that the whole of the meat they had placed on the frame had been stolen. 'Who has stolen our food while we have been absent?', the youths asked one another. But they could not find the thief. The youths dried the flesh which they had caught that day and placed it on the frame as before. When they returned in the afternoon they found that the meat had again been stolen. 'Who can it be that does us this harm', they again said to each other, 'and always steals our meat while we are in the forest?' But they could not give any answer. 'All right', said one of the youths, 'you go to-morrow alone into the forest and I will stay here to see who it is that steals our meat while we are absent.' They did as they youth proposed, and the one remained in the neighbourhood of the shelter while the other went hunting.

After a while the Jibaro who had stayed in the shelter heard a strange noise from within the big tree at the root of which they had made the shelter. He hid himself behind another tree and saw how the great serpent (pangi) came from the hollow stem of

the tree, crawled to the frame where the meat was and ate it, whereupon he again entered the hollow tree. 'I have seen the thief,' he said to the other Jibaro youth, 'it is the serpent who lives in the big tree that always comes out to eat our meat while we are in the forest.' 'All right', said the other youth, 'we will go out and collect much fuel and place it round the tree, and if the quantity we collect to-day is not enough, we will collect more to-morrow. Then we will make a fire round the tree and burn the serpent.' The youths proceeded in this way and made a big fire close to the tree. The serpent which was within it began hissing dreadfully and came out from the trunk, threw himself to the ground, twisted himself round the stem and was burned. 'Now we have burned the serpent!', the youths exclaimed. A smell of burned flesh arose. 'Shall we try the flesh of the serpent?' asked one of the youths. 'No, how could we try the flesh of the serpent', answered the other, 'it is very bad'.

Having said this the youth went into the forest for a moment. When he came back his comrade said to him: 'Now I have tasted of the flesh of the serpent.' 'Why have you tasted it?', answered the other, 'perhaps you will die, for you have eaten the flesh of the pangi who is an evil demon.' I was hungry', the other said, 'therefore I ate of the flesh'. In the same moment the Jibaro youth who had tried the flesh of the serpent felt a consuming thirst and drank all the water which was at hand. 'Where shall I get more water to drink', he asked, 'for a terrible thirst torments me?' They both went to a

small pool in the neighbourhood. [534]The youth started to drink water, he swallowed and swallowed, but he could not allay his thirst. 'I shall burst from the water I drink', he said, 'and be wholly changed into a lake because I have eaten the flesh of the pangi'. The youth drinking the water was first changed into a frog, then into a small alligator, and lastly into a water serpent which grew larger and larger, and at the same time the water in the pool increased more and more and became a lake. The other Jibaro youth got frightened and tried to draw him out of the lake but he could not. He went away from the lake for a moment, and when he returned the snake had been changed into a monstrous serpent, a pangi, and the lake had swollen into a very big lake which threatened to inundate the earth. The Jibaro who had been transformed into a serpent said to his comrade: 'Leave me quickly to save your own life. I have been made a serpent and I shall probably not spare you but swallow you. Go quickly to our people and relate to them everything that has happened: tell them that the water will rise more and more and will inundate the whole earth, and that they may save themselves by mounting quickly the highest hills and climbing up into the highest trees growing there; unless they do so, they will die in the water which will cover the whole earth. As to yourself, take your tsappa (gourd) and put it in your shigra (bag of chambira fibres) and then climb the highest hill. If the water should cover the hill also, climb into the highest palm growing there to save yourself.'

The other Jibaro youth did as his comrade had told him. He went home and told the

other Jibaros what had happened and advised them how to save themselves, but they did not believe him and said: 'What nonsense is the man talking, probably he has killed his comrade.' Then the youth went alone, carrying with him his tsappa in the shigra. When the water began to cover the earth he mounted a high hill, and when the hill was covered he climbed up in a high palm which grew on the hill. All the rest of the Jibaros, who had not troubled to save themselves, were drowned. The youth who had mounted the hill was the only one who was saved. He remained on the hill and in the palm for many days until at last the waters began to sink. In order to find out whether the water had receded and the earth had dried up he threw down a seed from the palm. As soon as he heard the seed fall on the ground the youth got down from the palm. 'Where is my comrade and the rest of my people who have perished?', he said to himself. He saw that some vultures alighted in the valley between the hills and understood that the [535] bodies of those who had perished in the deluge were there. He went in search of his comrade who had been transformed into a serpent, and at last he found him in a small pool of water, the serpent now being also quite small. The youth said: 'This is my comrade, how could I leave him here alone?' He placed the serpent in the gourd which he had brought with him in his bag, took him to a bigger pool and left him there. But the serpent grew more and more. When the pool was no longer big enough for him, he took him to a lagoon and put him there. Later on, when the serpent had grown still

bigger, he took him to a lake, but as he was too big to be carried, he took a vine and tied it round his neck and dragged him to the lake. There the vine suddenly broke and the serpent disappeared under the water. The Jibaro had a dog who started to swim in the water, and the serpent swallowed him. Now he dared no longer approach the lake to look for the serpent. But in a dream the serpent said to the youth: 'Do not come near me any longer, for I am bound to eat you as I have eaten the dog.' There the serpent remained and increased, and from that lake he has spread to all other lakes where the great serpent now exists."

"THE NUMINO OR 'EARTH STORY' OF THE JIVAROS

In the beginning there were two parents, Kumpara, (35) the Creator, and Chiegoco, his wife. They had a son, Etsa, the Sun. One day when Etsa was sleeping, Kumpara took a piece of mud and, placing it in his mouth, blew it on Etsa, with the result that it became a daughter, Nantu, the Moon. Nantu was created in this fashion in order that Etsa might make her his wife, which he could not do were she a blood sister.

There was a bird, Auhu, (36) the goatsucker, who was active only in the nighttime. When the Moon appeared he became enamored of her and attempted to have an affair but his advances were not received by Nantu.

After a time Etsa likewise became enamored of Nantu, having a strong desire to have children. Although he paid ardent court to her, Nantu was coy and kept away from him. One day Etsa was painting his face with achiote to make himself attractive and, while he was doing so, Nantu took advantage of his preoccupation and disappeared by shooting up to the sky. Nantu, upon arriving at the sky, painted herself black with ena (witau) so that her body would become the night. She also painted her face, these being the markings on the surface of the Moon. Then Nantu followed a steep trail upward, climbing and climbing like a jaguar over the curving vault of the sky.

"35. Doubtless a corruption of 'Compadre.'

36. Also called Aishiru."

Auhu, seeing his loved one climbing thus above him and sensing that Nantu was escaping from Etsa, decided to try his luck again at courting. There was a vine hanging down from the sky and Auhu began to climb this in order to reach the object of his desire. Nantu, seeing him, cut the vine, which fell and became entangled in all the trees of the jungle where one may see it now. Auhu, foiled in his pursuit, fell with it, and once more sulked among his trees.

Now when Etsa discovered that Nantu had eluded him, he was very angry and immediately decided to go in pursuit. At first he knew no means of reaching her, but finally he caught two parrots, Awamasa, and two parakeets. On each wrist he fastened a parrot and on each knee a parakeet, saying to them: 'Let us look for Nantu.' The birds flew upward with him, carrying him to the sky, where he finally caught up with Nantu and a violent quarrel ensued. During the altercation Etsa became more and more angry and struck Nantu. When this happens the Sun eclipses the Moon [sic]. Nantu retaliated and struck Etsa; this is the Moon eclipsing the Sun. As a result of this exchange of blows, Nantu was subdued and began to cry, Etsa saying: 'Now you see how much bigger and stronger I am [125] than you and all you can do is weep.' Now whenever the face of the Moon is red it is an indication that it is going to rain.

Following this quarrel, Nantu went off by herself to prove that she could produce a son unaided. She gathered some dirt and, blowing upon it, created a son, which she called Nuhi. Being lonely, she devoted her affection to this son. Auhu, seeing this, became

jealous and, approaching stealthily, broke this son, modeled of clay, and Nuhi died, becoming the earth.

Nantu, lonely and now thoroughly subdued, received the advances of Etsa. They were married on the River Kanusa. Here a son was born to them, Uñushi, the sloth, who was the first Jivaro. Being so old, he now moves very slowly. The waxing Moon indicates the period of pregnancy; it wanes as it gives birth. The mating of the Sun and the Moon takes place on earth when they have both descended from the sky. The earth was used as a place for Uñushi and his descendants to live and also as a mating place for Etsa and Nantu. Uñushi was put into the forest, which was to be his home henceforth.

Nantu and Etsa then constructed a canoe of caoba wood and in it went out into the river where a second son was born. This was Apopa, the manatee. He was immediately placed in the water and told hereafter he was to live in the river and that whenever Uñushi should encounter danger on the water he was to come to his assistance.

Following this, a third son was born to them in the mountains. This was Huangañi, the peccary. He was born during a tempest to the accompaniment of rain and thunder, for which reason the peccaries always move about during storms, following the rain as the storm moves along; a fact of which the Jivaros take advantage in hunting.

Shortly after this, Etsa and Nantu were in an open space in the forest when a daughter was born. This was Nijamanche, the manioc plant. She was destined to be for all time

the friend and intimate companion of the Jivaros.

Some time elapsed and no more children were born to Etsa and Nantu. Then it was that Chingaso gave them two eggs which they were told to place on a sand bar by the side of the river. This they did, but upon returning next day found that the two eggs had disappeared. While they were puzzling over this fact, Tingishapi, the cricket, came out of the ground and tried to speak to them. He was so small that they did not notice him, so to attract attention to himself he bit them on the feet. They picked him up and said: 'Who are you?' The cricket replied: 'I am Tingishapi. I am one of your family. I have come to tell you that Untujo, the egret, has flown away with the two eggs which you left here.' Etsa immediately set [126] out in pursuit of Untujo and finally caught up with him. Untujo, when caught, dropped one of the eggs, which fell and was broken. The other one Etsa recovered and returned to Nantu.

Remembering how they had almost missed seeing Tingishapi, Etsa instructed him not to move around during the daytime because then many people would be walking about and he would likely get stepped on. He was told that he should henceforth live in the houses of the Jivaros as a guardian. All of this transpired. However, in addition to the desire to guard the house, when night comes on he feels the desire to bite something so that he eats the clothes of the Jivaros.

The egg which had been recovered from Untujo was the color of the sun and, tending

it carefully, they produced from it a woman, Mika. (37) Then they brought Mika to the River Kanusa, where Uñushi was sleeping, in order that Mika could become his wife. (38)

They were married and then instructed by Etsa and Nantu as to what their respective duties should be as man and wife. Uñushi was to do the clearing of the forest where their home was to be built and was to build the house in which they were to live, after being told the manner in which it was to be constructed. Mika was to attend to the planting and care of the manioc, to the preparation of food, and to general household duties. It developed, however, that Uñushi was very lazy by nature, with the result that most of the disagreeable work was passed on to Mika, so that now the biggest share of Jivaro work is done by the women. After establishing their household, Uñushi and Mika got into a canoe and started to go down the river. During the voyage, a son was born in the canoe. This was Ahimbi, the water serpent.

After the birth of Mika, Chingaso gave many eggs to Nantu from which were produced the birds and animals inhabiting the forests and mountains; these were to be the friends of the Jivaros and were to furnish them with food.

Now, however, Uñushi and Mika were away from their home terrritory and they needed food. At this juncture two little birds flew to the canoe, calling to them to follow, so

"37. Mika is the name of the red bowls in which chicha is stored and served.

38. Here again it is interesting to note that Mika is produced from an egg, apparently in order to prevent an incestuous marriage."

they left the canoe and went ashore. The two birds preceded them, entering a hollow tree, which immediately was transformed into the chonta palm, laden with ripe fruit. Gathering the fruit, they cooked it and, after satisfying their hunger, they returned to the beach where they had left their canoe. There was a surging of waters and out of the river came Pangi, and anaconda. Crawling onto the gravel bar, he broke with his tail a large rock from which he fashioned a stone axe for [127] them, showing them the method of its fabrication. With this, Ahimbi cut down a tree, Awamo (the cedro), and from it fashioned a canoe. He was of an adventurous disposition and wanted to shift for himself and see the world. Getting into his canoe, he left his parents and set out on a long trip.

Far down the river he met a white man, Apachi, who was traveling in an iron canoe. He showed Ahimbi iron and various mechanical contrivances, saying: 'These are my things. You don't know them so I will show them to you.' In order to show Ahimbi, Apachi constructed a large boat of iron, saying: 'Now you know what these things are, but they are not for you. On the water you are to use canoes and balsas.' Saying which, Apachi left. During a long period of time Ahimbi traveled and had many adventures, but finally decided to return to his parents.

On his way back, in the evening, he encountered Mika traveling alone. He asked her the whereabouts of Uñushi. Mika replied that she did not know; she had not seen him for some time, because he had wandered off and become lost in the forest.

When night came on Ahimbi told his mother that he would like to sleep with her. This he did but overslept in the morning, so that when Etsa came at dawn he was still with Mika. Etsa was angry and awoke them, grasping them both by the hair, saying: 'Why are you two together this way?' Ahimbi replied: 'We are doing nothing; it has been a long time since I have seen my mother. I am so pleased to be with her again that I merely wanted to be close to her.' Not deceived by this tale, Etsa ordered them to leave immediately.

They went away together, after which several children were born to them as they wandered looking for a place to reestablish themselves, but all of the birds and animals who had previously fed them were so much offended by this unnatural union that they refused their help. When they wished to sleep in the cave of Yumbingi, the jaguar, their former friend drove them out and has been an enemy of man ever since.

Finally, Uñushi learned what had happened and, much enraged, brooded upon the idea of taking revenge. When Nantu came down to visit her offspring, Uñushi accused her of having consented with Etsa that Mika should go away with a man other than her husband and have children by him. Refusing to listen to her denial, and being much enraged, he fell upon her with his chonta lance and beat her violently, finally throwing her into a hole and covering her over with earth.

It so happened that the dove witnessed this episode and told Auhu what had happened. He also told him to put on fine beetle-wing ear ornaments and to paint his face beautifully

with achiote; then to [128] go to the river where he would find a large land snail. This Auhu did, and still following the instructions of the dove, made a trumpet of the snail shell. With this, he entered the hollow trunk of a fallen chonta palm where he blew upon the snail-shell trumpet. At this call, Nantu very suddenly burst out of the hole where she had been buried, passing through the hollow chonta palm, knocking Auhu violently out of it, and heading straight for the sky again. (39) Auhu cried: 'Come back! Come back!' in his most entreating tones, but Nantu was so anxious to return to her place in the sky that she did not even look back, let alone pause to thank Auhu for enabling her to escape. Thus once more, having had an opportunity to gain the favor of his loved one and again having had his hopes dashed to earth, Auhu resumed his melancholy condition. For this reason he sings only on moonlit nights his mournful cry, 'Aishiru, Aishiru', meaning 'Beloved.'

When Nantu had made good her escape she told what had transpired. The sons of Mika and Ahimbi, hearing the tale, immediately sought out Uñushi and cut off his head, making a tsantsa of it.

When Mika found out what had happened she beat her sons born of Ahimbi and killed

---

"39. In relating this episode the Jivaro have in mind the action of a dart going through a blowgun."

them, saying that they had killed her husband. After this had taken place Ahimbi fought with Mika because she had killed his sons. (40) They fought so violently that a great tempest was brought about. Huge black clouds came up, rolled along by a terrific wind; torrential rains descended with great fury; lightning flashed and terrific peals of thunder reechoed through the sky.

At the height of the hurricane there came a tremendous clap of thunder and out of the blackest cloud there flashed to earth a mighty bolt of lightning which struck the ground and at the spot there leaped up immediately a powerful Jivaro armed with lance and shield. This was Masata, the embodiment of war.

He viewed the fighting with great enthusiasm, enjoying it so much that when he saw signs of the struggle slackening, he encouraged both sides, going among the many children of Ahimbi, Uñushi, and Mika, urging them to fight one another and assuring each faction that they were in the right. So successful was his propaganda that they all separated into their various factions, this being the origin of the different Jivaro groups.

After this split had been completed Masata visited each group, secretly telling each that they were right and that those who possessed any manhood would go out and kill their enemies, and that he who killed the most would become powerful and would be a great Curaka. [129] Some were partisans of Mika, some of Ahimbi, and some of Uñushi. 'Go

"40. This sequence of events is the origin of the custom of blood revenge."

out and avenge yourselves and you will become a strong Curaka', said Masata. This was the beginning of war.

When Etsa and Nantu looked down and saw the turmoil that had been created they were much displeased. They descended to earth and sought out Ahimbi, accusing him of being responsible for all of the trouble because of his conduct with Mika. Seizing him, they brought him to the Pongo Manseriche. Here Etsa took the trunk of a hollow chonta palm and thrust Ahimbi in it. Then Etsa, blowing upon the chonta tube after the fashion of a blowgun, turned it slowly while so doing. As he did so, Ahimbi slowly came forth from the other end in the form of Pangi, the boa. After he had emerged completely from the chonta log, Etsa bound him up and placed him under the waters of the Pongo Manseriche. The boiling, turbulent waters of this narrow gorge are brought about by Ahimbi's titanic efforts to free himself from his bonds.

After this punishment had befallen him Ahimbi desired that his sons should have peace, so he thrashed his tail and sprayed water into the air, forming the rainbow, as a sign to Etsa to be compassionate and release his bonds in order that he might restore peace among the warring factions. Masata, however, saw the rainbow and ingeniously placed clouds and rain in the way so that Ahimbi's signal would not be seen by Etsa, and thus bring about an end to the fighting. Whenever Ahimbi attempts his signal, he has always been thwarted thus far by Masata, who has obscured his rainbow with rain and mists.

Having successfully prevented this threat of peace, Masata once more started visiting each of the tribes, hurling out his slogan, 'Make war! Make war!' Chingaso, however, feeling sorry for the plight of Ahimbi and desiring to see peace brought about, went down to the Pongo Manseriche in a canoe with the intention of releasing him. Ahimbi, however, thrashing about in his rage, did not recognize her. He overturned her canoe and ate her, thus ending his best opportunity for freedom.

Thus ends the Nuhiño of the Jivaros."

27: Bollaert--112-115 (No date) 1863 Jívaro-1
116, 539, 727

"On the Idol Human Head of the Jivaro Indians of Ecuador...

TRANSLATION

To the Secretary of the Spanish Legation, Quito.

Ecuador, Macas, 2nd Dec. 1860.

Sir, ---I received your letter of the 15th of August, in which you request information about the idol head of the Jívaros; how I obtained it, and how it had been prepared by them. What I now communicate to you, is the result of more than two years research.

A Jívaro of the Tambos tribe was baptized, when he undertook the commission to procure one of these idols; however, the first year he was unsuccessful. The following year he put the following plan into execution. He made a Jívaro believe that his idol wished to travel a little, for being in a sort of imprisonment, it would do nothing for its owner, suggesting that the idol should be handed over to him so as to make a trial. The baptised Indian brought it to me, returning with many presents to the owner, who then went on a hunting expedition, which turned out well. The fame of such success may facilitate the journeying of more of these idols.

After a war, the victors cut off the heads of their victims [the skull and its contents of course being removed--W. B.], a stone heated by fire is introduced into the skin of the head, desiccation goes on, and it is reduced to a miniature size, without its loss of the features. This is how I understood the matter; however, I may not have well understood the process.

When the head is prepared, the tundui or war drum is sounded; this calls the tribe together for the feast of triumph, which has to be celebrated before nine days have passed since the fight, otherwise the spirits of those (of their party) who had fallen would not be satisfied, neither could the head be deified. On the tenth day the feast begins; the Jívaro who has an idol head suspends it with those of others on an upright pole in the centre of a habitation, the idol head of the feast having a prominent position. The invited are dressed in all their finery, the females especially. They seat themselves far or near from the idols according to their rank in the tribe. [113]

When they have feasted, the priest takes the head of the victim, and holding it up by a string, makes a long speech, eulogizing the feats of arms the owner of the head had done in his lifetime, the valour he showed at his death, the fame of his ancestors, that it was worthy of adoration, etc., etc., concluding with certain gesticulations. After a brief silence the priest utters a piercing cry, when all rise on their feet, making a loud noise.

The head is again tied to the pole, when they all take their seats, excepting the victor; he remains near the head armed with a lance, and abuses the head roundly, to which the head is made to reply in similar terms, the anger increasing on both sides to its utmost extent; the priest being the spokesman for the head or chancha, who concludes

his part shouting in the name of the head, 'Coward! when I was in life thou didst not dare to insult me thus, thou didst tremble at the sound of my name, coward! Some brother of mine will revenge me.' The Jívaro has been unable to support this speech against his bravery, and raising his lance he strikes and wounds the head of his enemy in the face; after which he sews the mouth up, and thus condemns his idol to eternal silence. From this moment the idol is speechless, excepting as an oracle, questions being put to it when the inquirer is under the spell of some strong narcotic.

Now commences the dance. The victor suspends the idol (on a pole) in the open air, and the female he most esteems follows him to perform this act. This is the greatest honour that can be conferred on a Jivaro. She holds on to the waist of the victor, all the men joining in a similar manner, forming a chain. The women dance apart. Each plays upon some musical instrument or other, wildly singing the song of triumph. They go on dancing round the interior of the habitation, with short intermissions, for two, three, or more days.

The Jívaro who may have given the victim the second wound, after a year of severe fasting, repeats the scenes of the first feast (excepting the first part of the ceremony); and if three or more have assisted, they have successively their feasts.

It sometimes happens that, being hard pressed by the enemy, they have not the time or opportunity to cut off the head of a fallen foe; in this case, the ceremony is performed upon the head of a sow, which is adored as if it were an idol head.

When the fruits of the earth are not abundant, and their stock of domestic animals does not rapidly increase, the women commence the feast of supplication, in which they alone dance, holding on by each other, the old priest or capito carrying the idol. If the head does not work a miracle, the hair is shaved off, and the head thrown into the woods.

The preceding is what has appeared to me the most interesting [114] of the savage customs of the infidels inhabiting our eastern Cordilleras. I may, however, add that, of those they kill in battle, they do not make idols of all, but only of such who have shown themselves most brave; from these they tear out the heart, and the extracted brains they eat. This custom is common among the tribes of the Tumbas, Mendes, Pastaza, Jurumbaini, Tutamagosa, Chiguavida, Achmiles, Guambinima, Guambisa, Huamboga, etc., as well as the inhabitants lower down; also by those on the Morona, with this difference, that those of the Morona are really cannibals.

(Signed) José Felix Barriero.
General Secretariat of the Provincial Government,
Quito, 2nd January, 1861.

The above signature and rubric are those of the present political chief of Macas.

(Signed) R. de Anambi.

Spanish Legation to Ecuador.

The above signature and rubric are authentic, and as used by the Secretary-General of the Government of Ecuador.

The Chargé d' Affairs of H. M. C. M.

(Signed) C. de Sanquericio y Ayua.

The preceding has been translated by the undersigned.

Wm. Bollaert.

London, January 15th, 1862.

"Some Observations on the Jívaros (Jébero, Jívira), from Antiquarian, Ethnological, and other Researches in New Granada, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile, etc. By W. Bollaert. pp. 96. Translated from Villavicencio's Geografia del Ecuador. London: Trübner.

This great nation is found between the rivers Chinchipe and Pastasa; it is composed of numerous and large tribes, taking the names of the rivers on which they live, as Moronas, Pautes, Zamoras, Gualaquisas, Upanos, Pindos, Pastassas, Agapicos, Achuales, Cotapassas, etc. All these speak the Jívaro language, which is clear, energetic, and harmonious, and easy to learn. The Incas of Peru tried in vain to conquer them; the Spaniards succeeded in reducing them, founding cities in their country; but a rising on one day in 1599 destroyed the work of many years. Since then some attempts have been made to subdue them, but without success. They are active and muscular, have black eyes, small, and very animated; they show a bold front, are bent nosed, thin lipped, and have teeth as white as ivory. Many of them are whitish and bearded; it is believed this whiteness comes from the Spanish women they stole when they rebelled in 1599. They use the lance with great dexterity, and manage the shield well.

Although the Jívaros are of so unbending a character, some of the tribes approach the conquered settlements, entering into relations with them, as has occurred in

Canelos, with some of the Jívaros of the Pastassa, and they have even learnt the Quitu language. Other tribes have crossed the Cordillera, and have entered the towns, seeking peace and trade, inviting them to open roads.

Mr. Markham, in Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons, p.166, Hakluyt Soc., 1859, states that the Jívaros take a strong emetic every morning in the shape of an infusion of the leaves of the guayusa (sometimes called the tea-plant), for the sake of getting rid of all undigested food, going to the chase with an empty stomach.

In 1855, some Jívaros are reported to have destroyed the ancient town of San Borja, and the villages of Santa Teresa and Santiago. See Samuel Fritz's Map, 1707. Velasco, Historia de Quito, iii, p.152; Villavicencio; and Heraldo de Lima, 1855."

116, 175, 539

"Conspiracy of the Jívaros. From Velasco's Historia de Quito, iii, p.152, etc. Translated by W. B.

In 1599, the same year the Araucanos rose in Chile against the Spaniards, the Jívaros of Quito did the same. The cause of the terrible revolt is mainly attributed to the avarice of the Governor of Macas, who issued an order that a donation should be given by Indians as well as Spaniards, so as to celebrate with due pomp the coronation feasts of Philip III of Spain. This order was resisted by both Spaniards and Indians; the former, however, resolving to defray the expenses of the feasts themselves, though it should cost more than the donation. The governor now privately informed the Spaniards that he only expected each to give according to his means; but this was not explained, or perhaps not intimated, to the Indians.

The Macas and Huamboyas submitted to the order; but the Jívaros would not, and were about resolving to shake themselves off from the Spaniards and retire to the banks of the river Morona. But Quirruba, one of their chiefs, told them such was not the way to rid themselves of the yoke of the Christians; rather to remain for the present, and that he would lay plans before them for revenge. He advised first that great secrecy was absolutely necessary; and secondly to collect even more gold than was required by the governor's order.

Quirruba got all the Jívaros of the Morona to join in the conspiracy; the Macas and Huamboyas promising to assist in the massacre of all the Spaniards in that region on a

certain day and hour. Quirruba was to go with a sufficient force to Logroño (where the said governor would be), and other two chiefs were to enter, one Sevilla del Oro, the other Huamboya, putting all to fire and sword.

Twenty thousand Indians under Quirruba surrounded Logroño at midnight; a portion took possession of the various barracks, so that the Spanish soldiers should have no opportunity of assisting the inhabitants. Quirruba marched upon the governor's house, taking with him the gold the Indians had collected for the coronation gift. The massacre of the Spaniards now commenced, and the governor was soon made prisoner, when he was tauntingly told the moment had arrived to give him the gold they had collected. He was stripped, his hands and feet tied, and, whilst some of the Indians were upbraiding him, others were melting the gold in crucibles. They opened the governor's mouth with a bone, saying they would now see if he could be satisfied for once with gold. They now poured the melted metal down his throat until his bowels burst within him, when they raised their shout of exultation. This act having been perpetrated, the morn began [117] to dawn, when by this time every Spaniard had been killed--men, old women, and children; the younger females being reserved as their prize.

Before midday the Indians learnt that the capital, Sevilla del Oro, had not been attacked by the Macas, who failed them. Quirruba now sent a large force to attack Sevilla, distant twenty-five leagues. The conspiracy was only discovered there on the

morning of the fatal day at Logroño. The Macas, fearful of success, or that they did not dislike the Spaniards as the Jívaros did, failed to cooperate; but they did not reveal the sanguinary plans, and those distant from the capital retired to the forests before the arrival of the fatal day.

It however transpired that the Jívaros Moronas intended to destroy Sevilla and other places on a certain night (that night). About nightfall a portion of the inhabitants of Huamboya (sixteen leagues distant) arrived at Sevilla, the others having gone towards Riobambo.

When the Jívaros were seen marching upon Sevilla del Oro, the Spaniards went out to meet them. Terrible conflicts and slaughter ensued on both sides; when the Spaniards had to retreat to the city, having expended all their ammunition. They were followed by the Indians, who set as much of the city on fire as they could, and at night they retired. It was never known what had been done in Mendoza, for neither Spaniard nor Indian was found there. In Logroño, it is said, there perished of the Spaniards 12, 000. Sevilla had 25, 000 inhabitants; one quarter of these were saved, principally women and children, but very few men. The Jívaros nearly destroyed the neighbouring districts of Yaguarzongo and Jaen, Loja and Quijos, and even to Popayan this conspiracy extended.

Realde, the President of the Audiencia of Quito, sent an armed force into the Indian

country, as did the Viceroy of Peru, Velasco. An armed expedition under the governor went to Logroño, where they only found heaps of ashes and unburied bodies. The Spaniards went in search of the Jívaros as far as the river Paute, the general rendezvous of these Indians, but arriving there they only met with the ashes of their temporary dwellings: some of the Jívaros having retired into the eastern Cordillera of the Yaguarzongo, the other into the almost impenetrable forests of the Paute.

The Spanish government gave up the idea of being able to punish the Indians, when a rich private individual of Cuenca undertook it. He (his name is not given) went with canoes, barcas, and rafts to Logroño, where he built a fort, in case of a retreat of his forces. He remained there in command, whilst his force descended the river. The Jívaros lay in ambush, and de-[118]stroyed the whole of the expedition. After six months, those in the fort at Logroño heard of the extermination of their companions, when they returned back to Cuenca. The same individual went with another expedition by the way of Loja, which also failed; and in the end he had to beg for food in the very streets of Cuenca. He applied to the Court of Spain for some recompense, which he did not obtain.

Another expedition was sent from Cuenca by land, when all died excepting four.

The Bishop of Quito then suggested to the Jesuits to go as missionaries amongst the Jívaros; so in 1633 two of the order embarked with some Indians on the Paute, for

Logroño, which was found only after much search; the ruins of the city had been covered with vegetation in the space of thirty-two years. The Jesuits now alone journeyed through the wilderness in search of the Jívaros, when one of them died. The other, after two years wandering, arrived at Jaen, his body full of wounds, and nearly naked."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[9] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter II

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

533
• 539
726

I am like an anaconda.
No one can get near my house
Because there is a lake around it.
I am a jaguar,
The bravest that is,
And no one
Can get near my house.

Sung by a man to his enemies when he believes that they are about to attack

595
351 The center of Jívaro life is the individual house, normally occupied by a polygynous nuclear family and surrounded by a garden in deep isolation in the forest. The house is typically built beside a small stream on a hillock where there are stands of soft or medium-hard wood. Such trees, especially palms, are easy to cut down to make garden clearings and are also preferred for house construction and firewood. The location of the house on high ground is not only better for drainage, but also furnishes a view across the surrounding garden to facilitate defensive fire in case of enemy attack (see Plate 2).

342 The dwelling is usually a large and well-made structure, oval in ground plan, with a single-gabled roof (see Figure 1). The roof is made of closely woven *kampanakä* palm thatch and is supported by nine center posts as well as by the smaller

[712] house wall posts. The windowless wall is built of stout chonta palm (*Guilielma* sp.) staves set vertically into the ground about an inch apart to permit light and air to enter,

/p. 41/ /text continues on p. 43/

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:
[286]
[533]
[539]

For me it is very easy
To spin yarn,
For I am a man-spider.
I am a man-spider.
Therefore I am adept.

My hand is like the hand
Of a spider.
Because of this
I make the spindle hum.

386 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*itipī*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*taračī*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. A typical version is as follows:

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing,
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to remain at the garden. These are three red stones which appear to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows:

In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *uŋusï* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

members of the family. A portion of one such song is as follows:

> Don't suck the blood of my husband
> And also don't suck the blood of my daughter.
> When you want to suck blood,
> Suck the blood of my enemies.
> When my husband comes,
> He will look very beautiful and very clear.
> But when our enemies come,
> They will come very pale
> And in the form of demons.[4]
> And you will know
> Who will die,
> Who will die.
> And when they enter this garden,
> They will have their blood sucked.
> All, all I can call,
> Even the plantain itself.
> I am a woman of Nunuí.

To protect themselves from such blood sucking, visitors to other persons' houses sometimes stick a branch of manioc in their belts in order to pass safely through a thick stand of the plant. Parents also employ the blood-sucking belief in telling children why they should not play in the garden.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

533
• 534

When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more beer
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

361 The interior Jívaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilo-
131 meters).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguasa south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de
161 Cutucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 2). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jívaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in loose-knit neighborhood groupings of ir-
361 regular size. The interior Jívaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

101 A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends
194 upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the
103 *niawá entsa* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [577] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the 854 infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [857] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick 854 it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 533 among the Jívaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female 539

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

child, and the words of it are addressed to the mother to come back from the garden to nurse the infant: 854 533 539 •

> Dear mother, dear mother
> Come soon, come soon.
> The baby is crying,
> The baby is crying.
> For lack of your milk,
> It will die.
> For lack of your milk,
> It will die.
> Dear mother, come quickly,
> Dear mother, come quickly,
> The little monkey is singing,
> The little monkey is singing.

Often the mother does not return for several hours, and 853 the baby-tender often attempts to satisfy the infant's hunger by chewing up boiled manioc and spitting it into the baby's mouth. Any other mothers in the household who may be lactating do not offer to feed the baby, and wet-nursing is unknown. If a mother finds herself unable to provide the baby with enough milk, she feeds it masticated manioc or a bit of beer.

When the baby begins teething it will also be fed steamed hearts of palm with a consistency softer than that of boiled noodles. Small bits of chewed meat are provided soon thereafter.

The birth of a new baby normally does not entail the 862 weaning of the earlier one, and it is a common sight to see an infant and a four- or five-year-old being fed by the mother, with one at each breast. Puppies are highly valued [231] and cared for by the women, and one may likewise be seen being breast-fed simultaneously by a woman along with

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The content is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an ironic humor. The following are two examples of these *hansemată* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a man:

Why are you so near to me?
For they will come after us.
This other one
Who came very close
Caused me to boil.
It would be better if you
Got farther away.
And what is your name?
I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.

I asked her,
"Where are you going?"
She answered me, saying,
"I go deep into the eastern forest."
That is what she told me.
By the way,
Another truth is that a stone can talk!

While such *hansemată* songs have a courtship function between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, including married persons dancing with the spouses of others. As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require frequent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall.
It emerges where the mountains become stone.
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The normal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the surface manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hallucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hopefully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child misbehaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hallucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist. Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen to provide them with the essential contact with the supernatural plane.

/p. 134/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

he alerts his *tsentsak* by whistling the tune of the curing song; after about a quarter of an hour, he starts singing. A shaman's curing songs tend to be self-encouraging exhortations such as the following:

I, I, I, I, I,
I, I, I, I.
I am like Tsunji.[14]
I am like Tsunji.
When I drink *natemä*
All my body becomes cold.
And I easily suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am always above the clouds,
And thus I have power.
I drank *natemä*.
I drank enough to have power.
All my body is cold.
Therefore I have power to suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

There is a very large body of water.
Thus I am like a great body of water.
I have a crown, but of gold,
Brilliant.[15]
How beautiful it appears
When I drink *natemä*.
Therefore it is easy to suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am always above the clouds.
Therefore I cure easily.
I have the *tsentsak* of *natemä*.
I am seated, but I am very cold
And there are many breezes.[16]
I, I, I, I.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

755
539 •
778

My *tsentsak* are like birds
And the wings and bodies are dreams.
With these I am now ready.
My *tsentsak* are sitting all over me[17]
And as I become cold
I shall have power.
I can easily suck out *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am like some *paŋü* of the Río Napo.[18]
Therefore I have power to suck out *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

Wait, wait a moment.
Now I am going to become dizzy.
I will see when I am intoxicated.

755
778

When he is ready to suck, the shaman regurgitates two *tsentsak* into the sides of his throat and mouth. These must be identical to the one he has seen in the patient's body. He holds one of these in the front of the mouth and the other in the rear. They are expected to catch the supernatural aspect of the magical dart that the shaman sucks out of the patient's body. The *tsentsak* nearest the shaman's lips is supposed to incorporate the sucked-out *tsentsak* essence within itself. If, however, this supernatural essence should get past it, the second magical dart in the mouth blocks the throat so that the intruder cannot enter the interior of the shaman's body. If the curer's two *tsentsak* were to fail to catch the supernatural essence of the *tsentsak*, it would pass down into the shaman's stomach and kill him. Trapped thus within the mouth, this essence is shortly caught by, and incorporated into, the material substance of one of the curing shaman's *tsentsak*. He then "vomits" out this object and dis-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Čuwi[5] tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Čuwi tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily,
And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.